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Nicaragua Says Washington Must Promise Not to Attack

From Agency Dispatches

MANAGUA — The Nicaraguan government says it will not consider Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr.'s terms for improving relations unless the United States promises not to attack Nicaragua.

"One cannot negotiate with a pistol on the chest," Interior Minister Tomás Martínez Borge said Wednesday. "One cannot negotiate when they are threatening us."

Mr. Borge was responding to the condition Mr. Haig set on Monday

for restoring U.S. aid to the leftist regime and curbing anti-Sandinista exiles training in the United States. First, said Mr. Haig, the Nicaraguan government must "get out of El Salvador," not acquire heavy weapons and limit foreign military advisers.

"To negotiate there must be a clear guarantee that the United States is not going to attack our country," said Mr. Borge, speaking at the departure of North Korean Premier Li Jong Ok for Cuba after a three-day visit.

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4 Dutch Newsmen Die In Salvadoran Fighting

United Press International

SAN SALVADOR — Four Dutch journalists, one recently questioned by police on his ties to the guerrillas, were killed Thursday during a clash between soldiers and rebels, the Dutch consul said.

The four journalists were members of television crew working for Dutch radio and TV news who went to northern Chalatenango province early in the day.

They were reported killed near the town of El Paraíso, 36 miles north of San Salvador. There were no other details about how they died.

The slayings followed the delivery of death threats Wednesday to local journalists by the Anti-Communist Alliance of El Salvador, which listed 35 foreign and Salvadoran journalists marked for death. The four Dutch journalists were not on the list.

"This is the first group of pseudo-journalists in the service of international subversion who have been condemned to death by patriots of our organization," the previously unknown rightist group said.

Five other journalists have been killed covering El Salvador's civil war in the past two years, two others are missing and presumed dead and about 12 have been wounded.

The four Dutchmen were identified as Jan Andries Koster, a producer; Hans Lodewijk Ter Laag, a soundman; Jan Cornelis

Guisper, a director, and Johannes Willenssen, a cameraman.

The Foreign minister gave me the "information" about their deaths, said Koen Steendijk, a businessman who is the Netherlands' honorary consul in San Salvador. "The reports are unfortunately 99.9 percent confirmed."

Army sources in El Paraíso said the corpses of the four journalists were taken to the town hospital.

Mr. Koster was called to Treasury Police headquarters last Thursday because his name and hotel room number had been found on a slip of paper on a guerrilla killed in a firefight a few days before in the southern city of Usulután.

He told police he had no idea how his name reached the guerrilla and asked whether the police action would hinder his future coverage of El Salvador.

"He was answered, emphatically, that the armed forces in no way interfere with the work of foreign journalists in El Salvador," a Defense Ministry spokesman said.

With Business Support Dropping, Reagan Scolds His Budget Critics

From Agency Dispatches

WASHINGTON — President Reagan appealed Thursday to businessmen to support his economic program and said this is not the time for "last-minute haggling or displays of blatant self-interest."

With the administration openly acknowledging a drop in business support for his program, Mr. Reagan scolded critics who are calling for higher taxes and other revisions in the administration's budget plans.

"Let me be honest with you, however, and tell you I've been a little disappointed lately with some in the business community who have forgotten that feeding more dollars to government is like feeding a stray pup," Mr. Reagan told members of the National Association of Manufacturers. "It just follows you home and sits on your doorstep, asking for more."

He said the country needs busi-

nessmen "to get on with the business of economic recovery, to look for imaginative ways to invest and grow and to provide jobs for the unemployed."

On Tuesday, the president of the American Stock Exchange, Arthur Levitt Jr., released a survey of brokers and others in the investment community showing that only 41 percent now "strongly approve" of Mr. Reagan's program, down from 67 percent a year ago.

In his speech, Mr. Reagan said the recession was "the legacy of years of misguided policy."

Without specifically fixing blame for economic problems, Mr. Reagan suggested that the same forces responsible for "the economic mess" now are urging the government "once again to make government bigger by increasing its revenue." There were suggestions that we rescind individual tax cuts or eliminate that truly historic reform of tax indexing, a measure designed to prevent inflation from pushing people into higher income-tax categories.

In an appearance before the same group, the Federal Reserve Board chairman, Paul Volcker, said that prompt resolution of the budget debate in Congress was crucial to restoring confidence in financial markets. "Nothing is more urgent in the coming weeks than the resolution of this budgetary problem," he said.

In Congress, there were few signs of movement toward solving the budget dispute. The chairman

of the Joint Economic Committee urged the House Budget Committee to send President Reagan's budget to the House floor, where he said it would be "voted down."

"We can no longer afford the luxury of endless compromise chats with those who do not wish to compromise," said the chairman, Rep. Henry S. Reuss, a Wisconsin Democrat.

Rep. Reuss urged the committee to send the president's budget proposal to the floor with a recommendation of disapproval.

The Budget Committee's chairman, James R. Jones, an Oklahoma Democrat, said Wednesday that he was considering such an option. But House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., Democrat of Massachusetts, and the Democratic floor leader, James C. Wright Jr. of Texas, said they did not see any reason to try to embarrass the president.

Meanwhile, John G. Tower, a Texas Republican and chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, took his first step away from President Reagan's military-budget proposal Thursday by saying it could safely be cut by \$2 billion.

Sen. Tower declined to specify what he would delete from the budget proposal and emphasized that this was his personal conclusion, not a committee position. However, his statement indicated that even Mr. Reagan's staunchest allies on military spending feel they must compromise.



The Associated Press

President Reagan introduced his nominees for membership on the Joint Chiefs of Staff Thursday. From left are Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger; Army Gen. John W. Vessey Jr., chosen to be chairman; Adm. James D. Watkins, selected to be the chief of naval operations, and Air Force Gen. Charles A. Gabriel, who will become the Air Force chief of staff.

Reagan Nominates Admiral and General to Joint Chiefs

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — President Reagan Thursday introduced his choices for two posts on the Joint Chiefs of Staff, saying he will nominate Adm. James D. Watkins to be chief of naval operations and Gen. Charles A. Gabriel to be Air Force chief of staff.

These men have great records in service to their country," Mr. Reagan said during an Oval Office meeting with the two and with Gen. John W. Vessey Jr., the president's previously announced choice to be chairman of the joint chiefs.

Adm. Watkins is now commander of the U.S. Navy's Pacific Fleet.

He was previously vice chief of naval operations. Gen. Gabriel, commander of the U.S. Air Force in Europe, is a former deputy chief of staff for operations, plans and readiness. Adm. Watkins would replace Adm. Thomas B. Hayward. Gen. Gabriel would replace Gen. Lew Allen Jr.

Dozier Says Ordeal Impaired His Hearing

From Agency Dispatches

VERONA, Italy — U.S. Brig. Gen. James L. Dozier, confronting his kidnappers for the first time since his release Jan. 28, said Thursday his hearing is permanently impaired because he was struck on the ear when abducted and then forced to listen to loud rock music during his six-week captivity.

Gen. Dozier, 50, testifying in the trial of men and women of the Red Brigades accused of kidnapping him, said: "The physical examinations I have had since my release have confirmed that the music played for that period of time has permanently damaged my hearing."

He testified, "First I asked that the type of music be changed, which was done. Then I asked that the volume of the music be turned down and this was never satisfied."

Gen. Dozier was asked if the Red Brigades had ever threatened to kill him.

"Not specifically," the general replied. "However, on numerous occasions when I was removing the headphones to try to get some relief from the music they would tell me that if I wanted to return home I should leave the headphones and they said this was for my protection."

Gen. Dozier also said he briefly thought the police squad that rescued him was another terrorist group.

Danes Destroy Sick Cattle

The Associated Press

COPENHAGEN — Veterinarians on the Danish island of Funen destroyed a herd of 66 cattle Thursday after diagnosing an outbreak of hoof-and-mouth disease. The Ministry of Agriculture announced. It is the first outbreak of the highly infectious sickness in Denmark since 1970, the ministry said.

U.S. to Detail Charges Of Toxic War Deaths

By Bernard Gwertzman

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration will make public on Monday an intelligence report that will allege Soviet involvement in the deaths of more than 6,000 Laotians, 1,000 Cambodians and 3,000 Afghans through the use of chemical weapons, administration officials have said.

The administration has already accused the Russians of using lethal chemical agents in Afghanistan and of having supplied agents for use in Laos and in Cambodia. But a group of United Nations experts said last fall that it could neither verify nor refute the charges. Congressmen have pressed the administration to make more of its findings public.

To bolster the administration's case, officials said Wednesday, a committee involving the Central Intelligence Agency and the State and Defense departments has declassified much of the material that has accumulated in Washington since 1975 and written a report of more than 100 pages.

"We are as specific and complete as we can be," one participant in the drafting said. "I don't think anything will end the doubts completely, but it will go a long way to answering a lot of questions."

"I was a doubter myself when we started, but I'm persuaded," he said of the use of the chemical agents and of the Soviet role.

In testimony on Afghanistan be-

Kaunda Says He Is Willing To See Botha

The Associated Press

JOHANNESBURG — President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia wants to meet South African Prime Minister Pieter W. Botha to discuss "potentially explosive" developments in southern Africa, the Star newspaper reported Thursday.

The afternoon daily quoted Mr. Kaunda as saying he wanted to reassure Pretoria that neighboring black nations do not want to see South African whites swept into the sea.

In an interview in the Zambian capital of Lusaka, Mr. Kaunda also said he wished to tell Mr. Botha of the dangers of stalling on granting independence to South-West Africa, or Namibia.

"I wish I could meet Mr. Botha and his Cabinet to tell them they are making a mistake over Namibia," Mr. Kaunda said.

[Mr.] Botha said Thursday that he had noted Mr. Kaunda's desire to meet him. He added that the South African government had always been willing to discuss matters of common concern with leaders of other countries, Reuters reported from Cape Town.]

Mrs. Kaunda said the Southwest Africa People's Organization, a guerrilla group fighting for independence of the South-African run territory, has said it is ready for face-to-face talks with Pretoria. Five Western countries are trying to negotiate a peaceful settlement of the 16-year-old conflict.

In August, 1975, Mr. Kaunda started the world by meeting John Vorster, the South African prime minister at the time, on Victoria Falls Bridge over the Zambezi-Rhodesian border. They discussed the black nationalist war of independence being fought in white-ruled Rhodesia. The peace bid failed and the war dragged on until Britain negotiated a settlement that led to Rhodesia becoming independent Zimbabwe in April 1980.

By using this information and that gained from the monitoring of Soviet military activity by U.S. intelligence agents, the administration believes it can fairly authoritatively confirm some accounts of the use of chemical agents, the officials said.

For instance, "If refugees claim that they were attacked on a certain day in village X by aircraft and helicopters and they give eyewitness accounts of how people died and what the toxins looked like, we check our records as to what the Soviet military was up to on that day, and if it checks out, we include it in the report," one official said.

President Reagan recently announced that the United States would resume production of chemical weapons in response to the allegations.

The U.S. report is said to lack physical evidence of chemical agents in Afghanistan, officials said. But they said the information was evaluated by examining the reports of Afghan military defectors, some of whom were involved in chemical warfare, alongside the claims of Afghan refugees in Pakistan who said they witnessed Soviet attacks.

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U.S. Panel Says FAA Mismanaged Air Controllers, Offers Remedies

By Richard Wiskin
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — An administration-created team of management experts has issued a severe indictment of the Federal Aviation Administration's handling of employee relationships.

The report, issued Wednesday, said the mismanagement existed both before and after the start of the walkout of air traffic controllers last August. It warned that the morale problems of the past were "reasserting themselves."

In a 150-page report, the group said that, as the growth of air traffic increased the pressures on controllers and their union became aggressive, the FAA had developed a rigid and insensitive system of people management.

Style Cited

It expressed concern that the spirit of cooperation that emerged when the strike began was giving way to fatigue and to "heavy-handed supervision."

U.S. Reports Rise in Tax Cheating, Predicts \$80-Billion Revenue Loss

By Robert L. Jackson
Los Angeles Times Service

WASHINGTON — Incensed over high taxes, Americans are cheating more on their income tax returns, costing the government \$80 billion annually in lost revenue, the General Accounting Office said.

Citing a decline in voluntary compliance with the tax laws, the office — the auditing arm of Congress — said Wednesday that a dangerous trend has developed "toward contempt and abuse of the [tax] system."

In a report to a House Government Operations subcommittee, the office said the Internal Revenue Service needs more investigators to find fraudulent returns. It blamed the increase in cheating largely on the fact that inflation is pushing more Americans into higher tax categories — the phenomenon known as "bracket creep" — and on the growing complexity of federal tax laws.

The office stopped short of predicting a major tax revolt, but said that "growing numbers of people in this country are unwilling to comply voluntarily" with tax laws. Therefore, it said, "it is imperative that IRS have sufficient resources to maintain the integrity of our tax system."

The office said internal surveys by the revenue service show that taxes evaded by individuals will grow from \$20 billion to 1980 to

"a less directive, bureaucratic organizational style would have buffered the problem," the panel said. "A participative or collaborative style would have solved it."

The report warned the aviation agency that, "unless it wants a repetition of the events of 1981, it will have to drastically change its management style."

The panel also submitted an ambitious list of recommendations, including a program for better matching of people and control jobs, as well as smoothing work loads, lessening salary inequities and finding and training people to recommend remedies.

The group's chairman was Lawrence M. Jones, president of the Coleman Co., a Wichita, Kan., manufacturer of sailboats, heating and air-conditioning equipment and the Coleman lantern. Serving with him were Stephen H. Fuller, General Motors vice president for personnel administration and development, and David G. Bowers, research scientist at the University of Michigan Institute for Social Research.

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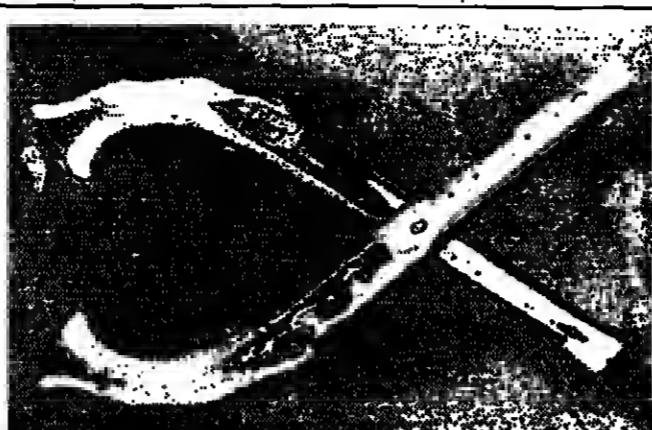
way. This asset appears to be slipping away from the FAA. To retain and enhance this treasured teamwork, an immediate and energetic effort is needed."

J. Lynn Helms, the head of the agency, welcomed the report, saying, "There is much to be done and we must get on with it."

It was Mr. Helms who, with Transportation Secretary Drew Lewis, took the initiative to asking a three-man team of experts to study the factors that had created employee problems in the FAA and to recommend remedies.

The period after Aug. 3, 1981, the experts said, referring to the date the strike began, "was marked by a renewed spirit of dedication, hard work, cooperation, care and courtesy within and between employees at all levels in the FAA."

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The two pistols, overlaid with ivory, are valued at \$200,000.

2 of Catherine the Great's Pistols Found in N.Y. Police Warehouse

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — For years, the two ornate flintlock pistols were stored in the New York City police property warehouse, resting among the cheap handguns and other illegal firearms.

The weapons, overlaid with ivory and intricate gold floral patterns, were seized in a drug raid in the South Bronx almost 10 years ago. They were stored in the warehouse until recently, when they were marked for destruction along with hundreds of other handguns.

But police decided the lovely old pistols might be something special and had them inspected by experts from the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Their assessment: The matching weapons were prized hunting pistols of Catherine the Great, the empress of Russia from 1762 to 1796. And now they are expected to be loaned to the museum.

After identifying the pistols — which arms experts have valued at \$200,000 — police set out last fall to find the owner, and for four months they followed a twisting trail. But the trail led nowhere and in the end they were left with the pistols and a theory.

"We think one of the owners sold them off and the new owner was burglarized, and then the guns kind of knocked around the streets," a police official said.

The pistols were made and signed by Johann Adolph Greckie, the imperial gunmaker to the empress. Leonid Tarassuk, a research associate at the Metropolitan Museum, said: "Their quality is so very high, I am almost certain they could have been used by the empress herself."

"They are true works of art," Mr. Tarassuk said, "and there is no doubt as to their authenticity. The museum is going to get a very, very important acquisition."

Alternative Is Offered To Reagan Alien Plan

By Robert Pear
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — In a bipartisan initiative, two members of Congress have offered a long-awaited, comprehensive proposal to restructure the nation's immigration law.

Other enforcement problems involve the proliferation of [illegal] shelter" to the United States, with 248,000 tax returns being checked for possible use of such schemes, the office said.

The growth of the so-called "tax protester" movement in scattered parts of the country has posed additional problems, the report said.

He told the subcommittee that he doubts Congress would approve the unleashing of an army of tax

agents, reminiscent of a "police state," to enforce the tax laws and that, as an alternative, the service is stepping up its effort to catch commissions of income from sources for which the agency has records.

William J. Anderson, director of the general government division of the GAO, said studies in which citizens were granted anonymity show that 25 percent of all taxpayers cheat somewhat on their returns.

"So it's a major problem," he said. "Extensive evidence is available to show that noncompliance among both corporate and individual taxpayers is a serious problem and is getting worse."

Describing methods used to evade taxes, the accounting office's study said "the use of overseas tax havens has grown rapidly in the past several years." Capitalizing on bank secrecy laws in such nearby foreign jurisdictions as the Bahamas and the British-run Cayman Islands, U.S. citizens have concealed some of their income in foreign trust accounts, Mr. Anderson said.

Based on experience, the service estimates that this increased enforcement capability will result in increased net revenues of approximately \$1.9 billion," he said.

Mr. Egger indicated that a major reason for the loss to tax revenue is the failure of some taxpayers to report income from stocks and bonds.

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He told the subcommittee that he doubts Congress would approve the unleashing of an army of tax

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William J. Anderson, director of the general government division of the GAO, said studies in which citizens were granted anonymity show that 25 percent of all taxpayers cheat somewhat on their returns.

"So it's a major problem," he said. "Extensive evidence is available to show that noncompliance among both corporate and individual taxpayers is a serious problem and is getting worse."

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Reagan and The Bomb

"Counting counting they were all the time. They had iron then and big fire.... They had machines et numbers up. They fed them numbers and they fraction out the Power of things. They had the Nos. of the rain bow and the Power of the air all work out with counting which is how they got boats in the air and pictures on the wind.... They put in the 1 Big 1 and... there come a flash of life then bigger nor the wool wowl and it term the nite to day. Then every thing gone black. Nothing only nite for years on end..."

That's the way civilization ended in Russell Hoban's remarkable novel "Riddley Walker." Modern literature is punctuated with other portraits of The Bomb, such as "On the Beach" and "Dr. Strangelove." Art and science, fact and fiction have drilled it into us for years: Nuclear weapons are hazardous to our health.

Yet it is all arising anew. U.S. society seems to be rediscovering its own mortality. The New Yorker recently devoted 90,000 words to "The Fate of the World" by Jonathan Schell. New England town meetings vote decisively against nuclear armaments. Half a million Californians sign weapons-freeze petitions. Senators Kennedy and Hatfield propose freeze legislation, supported by 148 other members of Congress.

Why, 37 years into the Atomic Age, the sudden rush of concern? Has the European peace movement crossed the Atlantic? Is it that a new generation has grown up ignorant of Strangelove? Have older generations failed fully to appreciate the risks? Maybe, but the polls suggest a clearer explanation for why so many people have become so alarmed about The Bomb: President Reagan.

During the 1980 campaign, Reagan ably evaded the tag of nuclear risk-taker. Only 3 voters in 10 said yes, he was likely to get America into a war. But after his first year in office, almost half said yes.

That's hardly surprising given the administration's saber-rattling toward the Russians and the more specific talk of limiting and somehow surviving nuclear war. Reagan won applause last fall when he finally promised to revive the SALT talks, renamed START. But

START hasn't started and probably can't before June. If it had started, much of the present nuclear freeze movement might never have developed.

All of which creates two questions: How justified is the alarm and agitation? Why hasn't Reagan done more to allay it?

Our deepest bumb is that there are no new grounds for alarm. Reagan knows that nuclear war is not winnable. The occasional talk of limited strategic war is posturing. But bunches do not comfort people made uneasy about any posturing near the nuclear button. More genuine reassurance can be found in Reagan's behavior.

He remains tenaciously attached to extraordinary increases in military spending. Still, for all the growling, his conduct concerning the Russians has been tame.

Jimmy Carter imposed a grain embargo on the Kremlin as punishment for Afghanistan. What did the ferocious Reagan do about it? He lifted it. What has the ferocious Reagan done to retaliate for martial law in Poland? He hasn't even imposed credit controls. What has he done about that "unequal" and "unverifiable" SALT-2 treaty? Though it's still unratified, he has made a quiet deal with Moscow to observe it.

He seems determined to look tough, whatever the political price. He knows what 500,000 freeze signatures mean in California. Yet his administration's only response to all the alarm is for Secretary Haig to denounce the freeze proposal as "devastating." Haig may be right about the technical merits. But so what? How many freeze supporters know the intricacies of arms control? To dwell on them is to miss the point.

The problem is not nuclear but political. The freeze movement members are not lobbyists pressing for a specific piece of legislation. They are people, ordinary citizens, pressing for something much less intricate. They want to put nuclear restraint back on the track, to give diplomacy, and peace, a chance. The wonder is that the Reagan administration seems so determined to take the other side.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Wall Street Unbelievers

U.S. Treasury Secretary Donald T. Regan went to New York last week to confront the financial crowd in its lair. "Why don't you believe?" he asked one audience in exasperation. The high interest rates, he suggested, are owed to an irrational psychology generated by misplaced fears that federal deficits will make borrowing more difficult. That's all wrong, he argued, because the administration's program is going to encourage people to save enormous amounts of money. There will be enough savings, according to the secretary, to accommodate everybody who wants to borrow. But meanwhile, Wall Street has spooked Congress with all its keenness and wailing over the deficits.

Mr. Regan might as well have spared himself the trouble of the trip. This week the interest rates twitched upward again, and the formidable Henry Kaufman of Salomon Brothers went down to Washington to tell the House Budget Committee what was wrong with Mr. Regan's savings argument. Deficits have to be financed out of savings, and Mr. Kaufman sees no indication that savings will rise as fast as the federal deficits over the next several years. It could happen only if there were a boom in business investment to push the economy. But Mr. Kaufman finds it hard to think that there will be an investment boom when interest rates are unusually high and, because of the recession, utilization of industrial capacity is low. That

is why Mr. Kaufman does not believe. He's hardly alone. It's difficult to find anybody who sees much chance of the strong recovery that the administration keeps predicting for the latter half of the year. Business activity will pick up sometime in late spring, presumably, and it will get a further boost from the income tax cut in July. But an income tax cut also means a sharp increase in the federal deficit, and the Treasury's need to borrow. That's the point at which the loose budget policy collides again with the tight money policy, once more forcing up interest rates. If neither policy is changed, it is quite possible that the economy will be slowing down, rather than speeding up, through the autumn ahead.

Why did interest rates move up this week? Because people in the markets expect them to move up next summer, and there's a bit of anticipatory pushing and shoving going on. People keep saying that the rates are beyond explanation, and perhaps that's true in terms of rigorous analysis. But they become less inexplicable if you remember that the financial markets are now dominated by people who, in the 1970s, lost a lot of money — their own money, their companies' money, their clients' money — by underestimating future rises in inflation and interest rates. Whatever mistakes they may make this year, they don't intend to make that one again.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

Why Not Bazookas?

Let's have a round of applause — or ammunition — for the brave little city of Kennesaw, Ga., soon to be the pistol-packing capital of the world. What better way to scare off bad guys and attract attention than to enact an ordinance requiring the head of every household to "maintain a firearm, together with ammunition therefor." The only concern of any peace-loving, firearm-owning resident now is what weapon to choose — and the possibilities are almost limitless:

If the council members of Kennesaw really want to send a message to the rest of the United States, they should require top-of-the-line weaponry in every household — the best every resident's defense budget can buy. Why truck with puny little handguns or clumsy cannon? And if Kennesaw is not quite ready for time-primed missile silos on every front lawn, surely the World War II bazooka could do a bang-up job on any unannounced outsiders.

There is some question as to whether only heads of households should be required to

THE WASHINGTON POST.

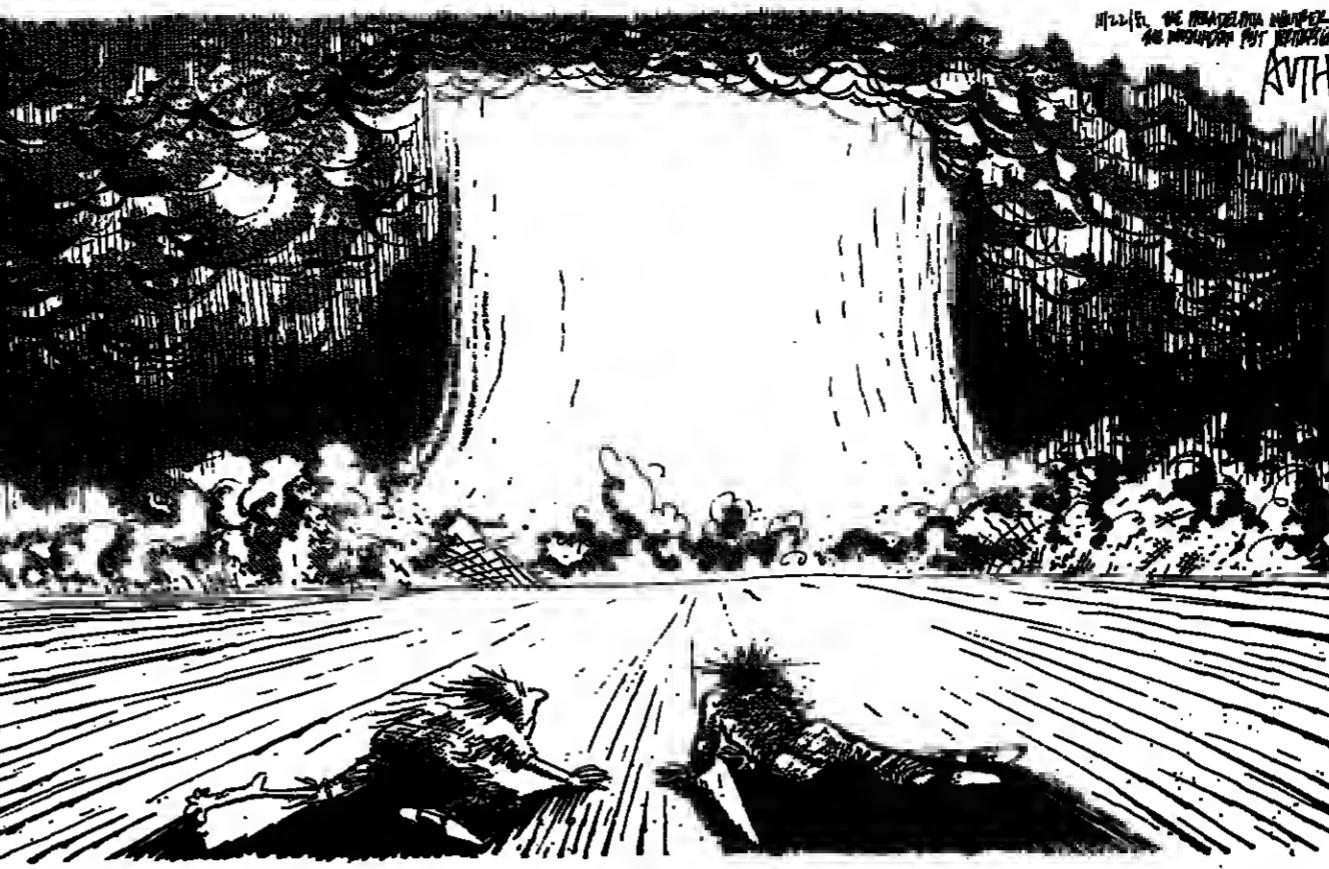
March 19: From Our Pages of 75 and 50 Years Ago

1907: Riviera Dust Bowl

MONTE CARLO — If any one part of Europe is more interested in settling the dust problem than any other, it is surely the Riviera. During the season automobile traffic is so intense, the roads are habitually so dry, that those who have villas along the main roads need some dust-prevention at all hours of the day and night. At Beaulieu and one or two other points along the coast, notably the Promenade des Anglais at Nice, the authorities have settled the question by applying goudronite to the road surface, and this year other localities are either doing the same thing or laying their plans to do so. All the streets of Monaco with a slope of not more than 4 to 5 percent have been treated since 1903.

1932: Bipartisan Tax Deal

WASHINGTON — In one of the wildest sessions the House has seen in years, members of both parties revolted against leaders and voted 121 to 84 for the imposition of wartime surtaxes on big incomes. The action strikes at the nation's wealth, placing on them the burden of making up the treasury deficit. Opponents of the general sales tax provision, which would impose an equal burden on rich and poor alike, were jubilant over their victory in the first show of strength on the new revenue bill. The levy found supporters from Republican and Democratic ranks. It provides for a graduated surtax from 40 percent on incomes above \$100,000 to 65 percent for those above \$5 million.



The Other Zero Option.

U.S. Must Challenge the Threat by Brezhnev

By Joseph Kraft

resolution by Senators Edward Kennedy and Mark Hatfield calling for negotiation of an immediate halt to the nuclear arms race.

These demands on the Reagan administration for more concessions provided the backdrop for the Brezhnev statement. The Soviet leader first reiterated, in somewhat more formal fashion, a freeze proposal that dovetailed perfectly with the Kennedy-Hatfield resolution.

He said that "the Soviet leadership has taken a decision to introduce unilaterally a moratorium on the deployment of medium-range nuclear armaments in the European part of the U.S.S.R." He called on the United States and its allies to follow suit — but as President Reagan observed, that would "lock in" Russia's enormous advantage in nuclear weapons on the Continent.

Analogous Position

To that offer, Brezhnev added — for the first time at his level — a distinct threat as to what Russia would do if NATO went ahead with the deployment of the Cruise and Pershing missiles: "There would arise a real additional threat to our country and its allies from the United States. This would compel us to take retaliatory steps that would put the other side, including the United States itself, in our territory, in an analogous position."

The general nature of that threat admits no doubt. The use of the word "analogous,"

moreover, suggests that the Soviet leader has in mind subjecting the United States to the same kind of intermediate-range nuclear weapons. Such weapons could reach U.S. territory only if based in Cuba.

But three times — under the Kennedy administration during the missile crisis of 1962 and under the Nixon and Carter administrations in lesser episodes — Washington has exacted from Moscow a pledge not to place nuclear weapons in Cuba. The Reagan administration cannot allow even an implicit threat to that understanding to go by.

The heavy odds are that Moscow will once more climb down on using Cuba. But of course, is only half the battle: The great opportunity is to use the occasion to advance the arms control negotiations from the domain of intermediate missiles in Europe to the area of intercontinental weapons.

The elements of a deal are obvious. The United States can ask the Russians to scrap their massive nuclear blockers — the SS-18s especially. In return, Washington would cancel projects to build such new weapons as the B-1 bomber or the MX missile.

The riposte to Brezhnev would at that point be complete. The United States would be out front on arms control proposals. Russia would be on the defensive. It is possible — even likely — that there would be true progress in reducing arms and making the world a safer place.

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Is the World Bank 'Quietly Withering Away'?

By Jonathan Power

London — Could one of those mighty institutions, the creations of John Maynard Keynes and John White at Bretton Woods, N.H., in 1944 — the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund — wither away? To raise the question may seem ridiculous: The World Bank dispenses \$12 billion of loans a year and the IMF is accepted for better or worse as the world's financial policeman.

Yet increasingly in Europe and the Third World, the feeling is that the gradual undermining of these institutions by the United States has gone so far that more of the same would begin to make nonsense of them.

While it is possible to argue that, under the astute leadership of the French managing director of the IMF, Jacques de Lavosiere, the IMF has rebuilt some of its strength, the World Bank seems to have been on a downward course for the best part of six years.

If there is a benchmark, it is the tenure of William Simon as U.S. Treasury secretary under Presidents Nixon and Ford. Simon was passionately hostile to the bank, not least because he felt that its

soft-loan wing, the International Development Agency, was killed.

The Reagan administration has continued the onslaught. It has used its muscle to extend Congress' squeeze on the bank. This applies particularly to its low-interest IDA loans, which are often blended with the mainstream bank lending to keep down the overall interest rate. It has also made it clear that it is not going to increase the bank's paid-in capital.

This is why the bank's former head of policy planning, Mahbub ul-Haq, who is going back to Pakistan to be minister of economic planning, talks about the bank "quietly withering away."

What is the point, he asks, of having an institution that is no longer an intermediary between the commercial banks and the developing countries? There is no point in new bank president A.W. Clausen's remedy of going to the private market for funds unless the bank can convert them into something more attractive by lowering the interest rates and extending their terms.

This all came to a head over the bank's desire to give its first loan to Communist Vietnam, for an agricultural project in a famine area. In the ensuing uproar, the bill to replenish the funds of the bank's

One way out would be to persuade the United States to relax its grip. OPEC and Western Europe should unlink their contributions from those of the United States. These countries lend to the bank in a fixed ratio to U.S. lending. When the United States was the pace-setter in the 1950s and '60s the link was invaluable. Now the cut by the United States of \$300 million for the IDA means a total shortfall of \$1.5 billion as the Europeans and OPEC proportionately match the cuts.

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This could be triggered by a crisis in the world banking system. One or two major defaults would drive home the need for revitalizing the original Keynesian concept of an international institution as a bridge between the commercial world and the developing world. This new institution could seek — as the Brandt report suggested — to base its funds not on the changing whims of governments but on automatic revenues paid through a system of international taxation on such things as use of the seabed, air traffic and the arms trade.

The pressures on developing countries' finance have never been so severe. A continuation of high interest rates and low demand could push a major debtor country like Brazil or Peru into serious financial difficulties. If this happened, the ferment that produced the original Bretton Woods institutions might be repeated — but with rather different results.

Major Defaults

If this does not happen, because of U.S. resistance or European and OPEC feebility, what then? Mahbub ul-Haq predicts that, by the end of the 1980s, there will be a push to take up one of the major recommendations of the Brandt North-South report: a world development fund, independent of the World Bank and IMF.

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Holy Emperors

Everybody enjoyed John Russell's musings on fireplaces (IHT, Feb. 22), but pedants like me must raise an eyebrow when he mentions the cold French winter suffered by Julian the Apostate — "soon to be Holy Roman emperor" — in the first half of the fourth century. To split a minor hair, it was the second half. Julian was in France a few years between 355 and 360. He ruled briefly (361-363) as Roman emperor, but not as Holy Roman emperor, a title invented centuries later.

While a few people argue that the so-called Holy Roman Empire began with Charlemagne's coronation in 800, the great majority prefer 962, when Pope John XII crowned Otto I.

Nobody is quite sure when the word "holy" crept into the emperor's title. Documentary proof seems to be missing before a letter from Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa in 1157. Emperors after him used the word occasionally, until it became standard with Charles IV (1355-1378) and was confirmed by all his successors until the fatal date of Aug. 6, 1806. On that day, under pressure from Napoleon, the last Holy Roman emperor, Francis II, abandoned the ancient title and henceforth styled himself merely Francis I, hereditary emperor of Austria.

GORDON GASKILL

Let the Japanese Help Rural Java

By Richard Critchfield

NEW YORK — Fifteen years ago, a village in Java all too often meant a community of ill-educated, raggedly clothed peasants who lived in windowless bamboo huts and slept on straw mats. Hunger in the dry season was an annual curse. Today, amid new irrigation canals and year-round, scientifically bred rice crops, a village is more likely to mean bright sarongs, brick cottages with tile roofs and glass-paned windows, iron beds with mosquito nets and the occasional motorcycle or television set.

But in Java's villages, density has reached an all-too-elbow-to-elbow 1,725 persons per square mile. As in Egypt's Nile Valley or Mexico's central highlands, absolute population growth has outstripped land and water.

What is to be done? South Korea and Taiwan point to the solution: villages that are 100 percent literate, 100 percent electrified and dotted with the smokestacks of decentralized, small-scale industry that boosts farm families' income and virtually ends rural unemployment.

Java's 35,000 villages are 65 percent literate. A free market and 10,000 small factories across Java to turn out consumer goods could provide jobs to keep potential urban migrants busy and happy. The villages themselves know what they want. In a survey I made of more than 250 of them in 35 widely scattered villages, they said their needs were better irrigation, better roads, more schools, credit for small-scale industry and technical training. It all fits together.

Probably the best way to industrialize rural Java would be to let the Japanese do it. Japan has \$53 billion invested in more than 200 joint ventures in Indonesia, most

of them in capital-intensive manufacturing industries. Last year, a start was made when Japan agreed to help develop small-scale engineering shops for subcontracting.

Indonesia's 4 million Chinese are prevented by politically motivated restrictions from investing more in labor-intensive village industry. Yet the Chinese discreetly manage the business affairs of most Indonesian generals. What's good enough for generals ought to be good enough for villagers.

Jakarta's anxious planners fear a backlash of xenophobia if the Japanese and Chinese get too conspicuously involved. They should ask the villagers. Rural Javanese are kind and are unlikely to be xenophobic toward anyone who provides them.

Richard Critchfield is the author of "Villages" and writes about villages for The Economist. He contributed this article to The New York Times.

The writer is editorial adviser to the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues.

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General Manager, Asia: Akira Matsui. Letters: 24-26 Hen

Hottest Little Opera in Moscow

By Kirsten O. Lundberg
United Press International

MOSCOW — Six miles down Leningrad Prospekt from the Kremlin sits a tiny theater bringing some syncopation to the sedentary world of opera.

The Moscow Chamber Opera is so popular that ticket holders stand in line all night. Even friends of the director have to use a password to obtain the tickets reserved for them.

The secret is innovation, a novel approach to the performance of opera that has earned the troupe countless invitations abroad and a respected place in world opera.

Soviet performing arts are often criticized abroad for being either tediously traditional or for staging works of "social realism" with the correct political color but little creative flair. The Chamber Opera not only stages older works with imagination but provides high-level exposure for young composers on a scale unparalleled in the West.

"I consider this theater unique," said its director, Boris A. Pokrovsky, a feisty 70-year-old who also happens to be chief operatic stage director for the Bolshoi Theater.

Pokrovsky may be married to the prestigious Bolshoi, but his mistress is the smaller company, formally called the Moscow Chamber Theater, which he founded 10 years ago with doubts about its survival.

Focus on Little-Known Operas

The company's 29 versatile performers focus on three areas: reviving little-known Russian operas, presenting West European chamber operas otherwise unperformed in the Soviet Union, and staging new operas written for the troupe.

"Our central assignment is to show new, contemporary works," Pokrovsky said in a red-damask-hung room at the Bolshoi.

"I'm sure we have more works by young composers than are shown anywhere in the West. We

get to see the best young talents because they come to our theater. And they get an audience."

The theater, a former movie house, seats only 200. There is no backstage. Actors enter from behind the audience and wait in full view until going onstage.

The audience is brought into the action by expanding the minute stage to include the whole theater. Intimacy is part of the secret, but so is theatrical training that is unusual for opera singers.

"The Rake's Progress" by Stravinsky, based on Hogarth sketches, the story is literally framed — singers step in and out of three-dimensional stage pictures. The contrast with the sometimes overrealistic Bolshoi productions is striking.

The theater has staged works by young composers from the Moscow Conservatory, a rock opera "that was a tremendous success," a jazz piece by a musician from Vilnius, Latvia, and several pieces featuring children. Pokrovsky said.

Backlog of New Works

The theater has a backlog of 20 new operas "waiting until we have the time to put them on."

There seems little chance of that until the group's new theater in the center of Moscow is ready, after remodeling, with its extra 300 seats. Pokrovsky does not expect the building to be ready for at least two years.

Much artistic endeavor in the Soviet Union depends on the influence of individual directors and artists. Already there are criticisms of the opera in the press. One critic expressed fear that because Pokrovsky is director of both, what he called the "lower standards" of the chamber opera would infect the Bolshoi.

Pokrovsky is powerful enough to withstand such charges. But asked who the next Chamber Opera director might be, he admitted that, without him, the theater could be in danger.

"I could hand over the directorship tomorrow, and the day after tomorrow, the theater wouldn't exist," he said.

Chinese Trains: A Touch of Class

By Liu Heung Shing
The Associated Press

DATONG, China — In a nation that professes to erase class distinction, few things are more rigidly classified and class conscious than travel by a Chinese train to the peasants as the "Iron Rooster."

Although it runs from Shanghai to the hinterlands of Chinese Turkistan, it is a different kind of Orient Express, one without champagne, caviar or gentility. In fact, Chinese trains — mostly modern steam locomotives — are known for their hearty noodles and proletarian past, when millions of Red Guards rode free to "make revolution" in the mid-1960's.

First class and all classes were abolished in those chaotic days of Mao Tse-tung's Cultural Revolution and the trains gloriously didn't run on time.

"Better to be late for the revolution than on time for the bourgeoisie," chanted the young Maoists.

Today timetables and classes have been restored. One's seat on the train is one's place in society.

First class, "soft sleeper," is for the richest, the most powerful, army brass, party officials with Rank 13 and up, and it is obligatory for foreigners. They are seated in a four-person compartment of white lace curtains and snowy coverlets.

It is not plush, but it is luxurious by Chinese standards and privacy is one of the greatest luxuries. First class passengers also can turn off

the loudspeakers that assault the rest of the passengers with orders to "Serve socialism." "Work for the four modernizations" and "Don't spit."

Second class, "hard sleeper," is a quantum leap below. The car contains row on row of three-tiered beds with thin mattresses. It is mostly for professionals, factory foremen or Communist Party cadres known to the peasants as the "iron rooster."

Third class, "hard seat," is pews of wooden seats, six to a seat in cars that make up most of the train. It is for the peasants, the masses, known as the "old hundred dried names."

They clamber aboard with their pigs and ducks for market, firewood for the lunar new year and sunflower seeds, which they chew and spit on the floor.

Fourth Class

Since trains usually are overbooked, there's a fourth class in which travelers are forced to stand in the crush and din of third class.

The fares reflect the differences. For example, first class from Peking to Harbin, an 18-hour trip, is 137 yuan (\$76.55) for foreigners and 68.95 yuan (\$38.30) for Chinese. Second class is 36.10 yuan and third class is 20.30 yuan.

The railway network covers 32,318 miles, but it still is seriously inadequate for a nation that is modernizing and carrying more freight, more passengers and more passenger mobile and rich enough to go to market.

The network links with the Sovi-

et Trans-Siberian in the northeast and crosses the tropical island of Hainan in the southeast. Trains link every province, except Tibet, and tracks now are being built to that Himalayan "Roof of the World."

For most of China's 1 billion people, trains are the major form of long-distance transportation. The 1980 statistics, the most recent, show 91 million passenger miles and 1.8 billion tons of freight.

A walk through a typical passenger train provides a glimpse of the "classless society." Boarding at the back of the train, one enters the hard-seat section. It is raucous, dirty and crowded, and the passengers are poor.

Canvas sacks, bed rolls and heavy jackets lined with animal skins are stashed in overhead racks.

The passengers play cards, chatter, sip tea from jars. At midnight an attendant screams "Cai-jie-fan!" — rice, pork fat and cabbage served in a tin box.

The travelers respond with gusto, dig into grubby pockets for soured money, wait for their lunch box. It costs 30 fen (18 cents), but at least it's hot.

At the end of the car is the latrine, a hole in the floor of a tiny room. A long line waits outside.

Joining the Middle Class

Entering second class is like entering the middle class. It's quieter, more subdued. Army men read magazines, young professionals study textbooks or read novels; women and youths play with Rubik cubes. They take their own food along.

First class is even more remote and cushioned. Senior army men and civilian officials smoke Phoenician brand or foreign cigarettes and young women attendants frequently bring hot kettles to fill teacups.

Italy's Hidden Art

By Wendy Owen
The Associated Press

ROME — Italy has one of the richest art heritages in the world. But along with that heritage comes a massive problem: Where is it all?

A recent survey by the Italian Institute of Statistics found that less than a quarter of all of Italy's art works are catalogued, and that more than half of the works are hidden from the public.

The survey also revealed that only a third of Italy's art works are on display in state-owned museums and galleries; and 25 percent more are rarely on view. The remaining works, about 42 percent, are locked in museum rooms that are never opened.

There are other problems even when one knows where to find

Culturally minded Italians who want to see the great works they have been taught about at school must take time off from work because most of the state-run museums are open only weekday mornings. Forty million people visited Italy's museums last year.

Many tourists miss out because they do not know that a third of Italy's museums are open only on request. And when they arrive at a museum during opening hours listed in their guidebook they often find a closed door and a small explanatory notice: "Chiuso per Restauro." Closed for Restoration.

A three-day national conference in Rome on Italian museums provided an example of the problems art lovers face. The conference was held in the Palazzo Barberini, which holds much of a 3,000-piece collection of the National Gallery of Ancient Art. But the palace is closed to the public because it houses a division of the Italian Army.

Other Complaints Registered

Angry delegates gave other examples. They complained of museums that have been closed for 20 years because restoration work has not been completed, of fine art work housed in prefabricated buildings, of unanswered letters sent to ministries asking for badly needed restoration funds.

But the conference may be the beginning of radical restoration work on the crumbling structure of art administration in Italy.

Confronted with a series of complaints that state museums are drastically short on money and staff and that state authorities give directors little or no power over the museums they run, Culture Minister Vincenzo Scotti suggested many of the problems could be solved if museums were removed from state control. He said the infeasibility was "a cry of pain because the Italian society dedicates insignificant financial resources to its museums — crumbs."

The annual expenditure on museums in Italy is only \$2.4 million, Scotti said, adding that the museums don't pay for themselves because many are free or sell entrance tickets for less than the cost of a postcard and stamp. He said one cure might be to turn over some museums to private hands and transform others into foundations with public and private backing, supported by local and regional organizations.

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(Continued on Page 97)

PEOPLE: Indecency Suit Dropped Against 'Romans' Director

An anti-pornography campaigner withdrew a private prosecution against a director of Britain's National Theatre for "procuring an act of gross indecency" on stage. The announcement came on the fourth day of the trial at London's central criminal court. Mary Whitchurch, leader of a cleanup campaign, later told reporters her aim had been to establish a point of law — that the crime of gross indecency applied to the theater as much as to any other public place. "I am not the least bit interested in sending you to prison for fucking anybody," Director Michael Bayes declared. "I was pleased out of courtesy to change a scene from a scene in Howard Brenton's play 'Romans in Britain' at the London theater 15 months ago, in which two characters simulated homosexual rape."

* * *

International jet-setter Sheikha Dene al-Fassi won \$75,000 a month support indefinitely from a California court that has not yet determined if her marriage to Saudi Arabian Sheikhs Mohammed al-Fassi. Her attorney said the award is the highest continuing support payment ever granted in any court. Los Angeles Superior Court Judge Robert Fairer also strengthened an earlier order giving the sheikha, 23, custody of the couple's four children by ruling that the children cannot be taken out of California. The children, aged 2 to 5, are with their father in the Bahamas, where a court is expected to decide soon whether they should be returned to California. The sheikha wants full custody so he can take them to Saudi Arabia. The sheikha is also seeking half of the sheikh's estimated \$6-billion estate as community property in a divorce settlement.

* * *

As anybody who is anybody knows, one does not address one's butler as "Mister." Nobody, it seems, knows this better than Josephine Louis, the wife of John Jeffery Louis Jr., the U.S. ambassador to Britain. Since moving to the ambassador's London residence, Winfield House, last year, Mrs. Louis has been getting constant reminders about the proper form of address because she insists on calling the Winfield House butler "Mister." "We've had so many people come to the house and whisper: 'You must call the butler by his last name. You mustn't call him 'Mister,'" Mrs. Louis said. It may be a deviation from standard social usage, but in a magazine interview, Mrs. Louis had an explanation: "His name is Kennedy Dear. I think it would sound rather odd if I said, 'Would you pass the biscuits, Dear?'"

* * *

Pat Boone led some of Washington's best-known politicians and socialites in gospel songs at the Kennedy Center, songs that gave the Concert Hall in Washington, at least temporarily, the air of a Christian revival. Boone, who opened his act in a satiny green jacket with "Heaven" written across the back, sang to the crowd: "He's got a little baby boy in his hand." He's got the president of the United States in his hand. He's got the whole country in his hand." A good portion of the audience sang along, but a number seemed quite startled by the events on stage. Rep. Les Aspin, a Wisconsin

Observer

Statuesque Legends

By Russell Baker
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — I was startled recently by coming across a statuesque brunet in the New York papers. She figured collaterally in a murder story that had a brief run in the news and then disappeared from print. My guess is that some graybeard city editor ordered her dropped after pointing out that there is no such thing as a statuesque brunet.

In truth, there have been no statuesque females of any hair coloration for many years now, but even in the days when they still Baker existed they were always blonde. Didn't ask me why.

"Statuesque" did not indicate that the lady was as stunning as a work by Phidias. It was meant to suggest only that she had a generous bosom. Not too generous, though. The word for that was "stout," though it was never used except of women involved in crimes and who, therefore, were thought to be too busy with the police to sue for slander.

* * *

Why the statuesque blonde ceased to enliven the news rooms is one of those mysteries of popular culture, is the same class with the mystery of the vanished moguls. Twenty or 30 years ago, the news pages abounded in moguls, but today, alas, there is not even a film mogul left in the Hollywood news.

A student of American business tells me that the moguls were replaced years ago by wheeler-dealers, another vanishing breed to judge by the newspapers. With the Reagan administration, I rather suspect that the wheeler-dealers are giving way to the tax fixers, but of course you won't find many newspapers willing to call a fixer a fixer just yet.

* * *

Another newspaper performer of more recent vintage who has dropped out of sight is the legend in his own time. Just a few years ago there was a legend in his own time every other week in the papers. Most of them were guitar twanglers who wore Day-Glo suits and they were colorful, as legends

ought to be, particularly in their own time.

Other newspaper characters seem indestructible. Take the innocent bystander. It's a rare day in New York, or any other city, for that matter, when the papers can't find an innocent bystander or two to shoot. What's remarkable is that, despite continuous attrition by gunfire, the supply of innocent bystanders has not been significantly depleted in 60 years.

In "A Will Rogers Treasury," soon to be issued by Crown Publishers, Rogers notes the heavy toll in innocent bystanders as long ago as 1924, when he recorded a single afternoon in which four were shot. "Hard to find four innocent people in this town, even if you do't shoot them," he wrote.

Most of the newspaper regulars these days seem dull compared with the moguls, statuesque blondes, and legends in their own time who used to enliven things. The consumer, for example, sounds to me like a consummate bore, which I suspect he is, with his incessant whining about chemical preservatives in his liverwurst.

If newspaper performers must be tedious, I like them to make a little noise about it, which was one thing you could say for those old standbys who used to grace every front page until very recently. I refer to slogan-shouting demonstrators.

You still find a few of them huddled inside the paper, as well as that once ubiquitous common cold, the militant feminist, sometimes disguised as the feminist militiaman. In New York the irate commuter still crops up on slow news days, cursing his fate.

Mother of five is the most depressing newspaper regular. She is never statuesque, neverrate, never indignant. Just plain old mother of five battered incessantly by disaster. Evicted, widowed, beaten, robbed. You'd think she might at least win the lottery once, but she doesn't. There is nothing but tears for mother of five.

The most interesting new character in print is a fellow I saw referred to the other day as "an extreme environmentalist." I haven't visualized him successfully yet, but I bet he'll be something to see. Imagine a statuesque redwood. Or should it be a statuesque blonde wood?

New York Times Service

Jill Clayburgh

I Do Best With Characters Who Are Coming Apart at the Seams'

By Glenn Collins
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — "I guess people look at me and they think I'm a ladylike character," said Jill Clayburgh, "but it's not what I do best. I do best with people who are coming apart at the seams."

And unravel she does in "I'm Dancing as Fast as I Can," the movie version of Barbara Gordon's auto-biographical memoir, "The Dark Side of Hollywood." In the role, she said, "I guess people look at me and they think I'm a ladylike character," said Jill Clayburgh, "but it's not what I do best. I do best with people who are coming apart at the seams."

The film's unsheltered scenes came easily, she said, because, a decade ago, she used to work in the psychiatric wards of hospitals in therapy projects with mental patients. "When we were doing the mental-institution scenes, the director [Jack Hofsiss] said, 'this is uncanny. I really feel you're being here before.' Well I had."

She took to the role, because, she said, "I'm a closet lunatic. I've always had that kind of insanity and rage lurking under the surface, waiting to express itself. I'm very extreme. I can be very provocative. My teen-age years were so crazy. It was such a rough time. That part of me is still there, but it's more dormant now. The roughest scenes in the movie, that was me as a teenager."

Hers was a privileged Manhattan childhood: summer house in Greenwich, Town School, Brearley, and later, Sarah Lawrence.

Change of Pace

"You can't say it's a Walter Matthau movie," she said, referring to her last effort, as an associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, in "First Monday in October."

"I've played characters out on the edge before, but that's not what I know for," she said. "My image is — together, but there are things lurking beneath that, things that David knows all about," she said, seated by a window overlooking the Hudson in their apartment on Manhattan's West End Avenue.

"I wanted to present a different side of Jill," said Rabe. "There has been a kind of politeness in a lot of the recent roles she's done. I felt it was great for her to break out of that increasingly sterile version of the person in 'An Unmarried Woman.'"

Author Gordon

© Andrew Abrahams

The movie was rushed, she said, and so she had only a month to prepare for the role. "To prepare, you can't take hundreds and hundreds of Valiums like Barbara Gordon had done. So I talked to many people who were addicted. They showed me how it was they did."

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Does Clayburgh prefer roles with a therapeutic theme?

"Not consciously," she said.



"Dancing" Clayburgh

The worst times came when she started drinking in her early teens, when she wore spiked heels and strapless dresses at 14, and when she used to be caught for shoplifting in Bloomingdale's. "I don't know why my parents let me out of the house."

She will be 38 next month. She has never been addled to Valium or anything else, "except jogging," now discontinued because of pregnancy, in its fifth month. She goes on food binges, but "on the day after a binge I always have the discipline to fast. It's a direct reaction against my addiction."

Lucky Woman

She has a wealth of toughness and competence, she believes, like the spirited, witty women she has often played. But she fits the screen stereotype only partially, she feels. "People think about me, 'this wonderful lucky woman, she's got it all.' But, gee, that's how I feel about Meryl Streep."

"I'm always thinking, here's this neurotic mess who's never going to get another job," she said. "My friends go through the 'I'll-over-work-again' thing with me over and over. They're so tired of it. Being pregnant is such a good excuse not to be working — you don't feel guilty about it."

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"The therapeutic experience is hard to portray dramatically in film. Somehow you always show the moment of revelation — and that's not what really happens in therapy. It's a slow process of gradual change. It would be hard for me, though, to do a movie where therapy was inaccurately portrayed." Has she ever been in therapy? "Yes, all my life," she said, laughing, "and I plan to be in therapy as long as I live, or as long as I can afford it. It's the great luxury."

She said that Michael Eisner, Paramount's chief operating officer, had sent her Gordon's book. However, the galley "just hung around forever, during which time I was incredibly anxious to work, and kept bugging my agent, and David kept saying, 'I wish there were something wonderful you could do now.'

"Finally one day David took the galley and he just started writing. All I was doing then was sort of going to exercise class. He wrote 50 pages of a script, and I read it and I liked it. So we took it to Paramount and Michael said, 'go with it.' Rabe became the executive producer.

Bringing Out Things

Both agreed that the movie's portrayal of Gordon was "just hung around forever, during which time I was incredibly anxious to work, and kept bugging my agent, and David kept saying, 'I wish there were something wonderful you could do now.'

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